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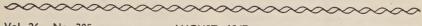
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CONTROVERSY

THERE'S a welcome spice of controversy about several of our articles this month. Frankly, we're all for it. The last word has not yet been said on Labour Party organisation, and the more we talk over our mutual problems, and, better still, get down on paper our solutions to them, the healthier it will be for all concerned.

A former agent, who has had wide experience of agency work, sticks his chin out with an article on "Agents—or Maid-of-all-Work?" He makes some valid points and talks a deal of horse-sense. But, nevertheless, we feel the picture he paints may be overstressed. We feel, further, that there's a good "come-back" to some of what he says from the angle of the local parties. Who will write it?

Similarly, a Dartford key worker, Mr. S. C. Terry, raises an old issue with his idea of full and associate members. He is worried at the negative nature of much of our membership, and thinks that only "activists" should enjoy full membership. We see his point but, candidly, we believe his solution would cause more difficulties than it would solve. What do you think?

ENTERPRISE

Congratulations to Hartlepools D.L.P. They join the ranks of Musselburgh, Poole, and a fair number of other parties by making a big success of their Labour Hall scheme.

Circumstances vary greatly in different divisions. But we hope that the story of Hartlepools D.L.P., as told in this issue, will encourage other parties, suitably situated, to go ahead and do likewise.

Great Expectations

FRANK SHEPHERD, Organiser, Southern Counties Welcomes the Boundary Commissioners' Proposals for his Area

Like Pip, I have "great expectations." I expect the Boundary Commissioners' Proposals to provide yet another impetus to Labour's progress in the

Southern Region.

The proposals provide for one hundred seats in the Region against eighty-six at the last general election. In sixteen constituencies no changes will be made in the boundaries; of this number eleven are at present repre-sented by Labour, and five by Con-

servative.

Enemy action and the social changes of two decades have combined to render many constituencies inconvenient in terms of layout, and electorally they are top-heavy. It is not suggested that redistribution will produce a panacea for all the ills from which Divisional Labour Parties suffer, but at least some old barriers will be removed, and if over the years a few long-established parties have tended towards an insular outlook the proposals will provide a mild corrective.

The following is a summary of the increases within the Southern region

on a county basis:-

Berkshire	 	***	I
Buckingham		I	
Hampshire	 		1
Kent	 		I
Middlesex	 ***		4
Surrey	 Fee.		-5
Sussex	 		1

Round the Counties

Sussex has not yet returned a Labour Member of Parliament, but the division of the double-membered constituency Brighton and Hove may have altered Labour's prospects.

"County According to Surrey's Clarion" the proposals "have obtained fairly general acceptance," but there is "some dissatisfaction" at Dorking, Malden, and Kingston-on-Thames.

Middlesex mixed views expressed. At Wood Green both the Borough Council and the Labour Party are objecting "that by such recommendations Wood Green, which has been a Parliamentary constituency since 1918, will entirely lose its identity, although it contributes more than onehalf of the electorate of the Division of which it is intended to form part."

Down in Kent most Labour Parties appear to be satisfied with the proposals. Dartford is an exception, where "no change" indicates an immediate electorate of 80,000, and an electorate approaching 100,000 by 1950. Dartford Labour Party will ask for the creation of two Dartford constituencies.

Redistribution in Hampshire appears have removed a number of anomalies. Bournemouth will now have two seats and Portsmouth is involved in a general reshuffle from which three new constituencies emerge. At Petersfield there is cause to complain that the inclusion of six parishes from the Winchester Rural District has created vast problems in relation to election transport.

Sigh of Relief

Reading Labour Party must have heaved a sigh of relief when it discovered that the original proposal to transfer more than 30 per cent. of Reading's electorate into the new Wokingham constituency has been superseded by plans which allow the Parliamentary Borough to remain unaltered for the time being. It is a fair assumption that the next general election will be the last fought in Berkshire's county town on the present basis. The growth of population should ensure two Reading constituencies by not later than 1955.

In Buckinghamshire the proposals have been well-received. The suggested new Beaconsfield Division will ease the geographical problems with which Aylesbury D.L.P. has grappled for

many years.

In 1929 twelve Labour Members of Parliament were returned in the general election of that year from within the Southern Region. that year many light industries have come south; there has been a mighty exodus from Metropolitan London, and administrative workers have joined forces with manual workers.

As the result of redistribution nearly one-fifth of the English constituencies will be in the Southern Region. Whilst the South is to gain additional constituencies it must be emphasised that these additions are made at the expense of other regions. Events of

1945 proved that the Southern Region is no longer an unassailable Tory stronghold. To-day, Labour holds thirty-seven of the eighty-six seats; not a majority but a useful contribution to the Government's strength in the House of Commons.

In consultation with the National Executive Committee the recently established Southern Regional Council is hard at work on the many problems presented by redistribution and the approach of the general election. Labour's membership in the south

must face up to an increasing responsibility to the Movement and realise its own growing importance in the affairs of the nation.

Much of our Party structure must be overhauled and regeared in anticipation of the next general election. Worn out machinery and antiquated shibboleths must be discarded.

How will redistribution affect the Labour Party in the South? I am satisfied that Labour has little to lose by the proposals and much to gain. Like Pip, I have "great expectations"!

Agents-or Maids-of-all-Work?

By an Ex-Agent

This is a hard-hitting article. You may not agree with many of the writer's statements but we believe he ventilates an important subject. Replies—particularly from the angle of the local parties—are welcomed.

"We want more full-time agents," says Mr. A. L. Williams, the Assistant National Agent, in the July issue of the "Labour Organiser." Nobody will quarrel with this statement, as it is obvious that with only 150 full-time men in the constituencies the Party cannot regard itself as being sufficiently well equipped with professional agents to enable it to build up an efficient electoral machine.

An increase in the number of fulltime agents is essential, but much more is needed. Some parties seem to think that if they appoint a full-time agent all their organisational problems are solved automatically.

This "Socials" Business

This is by no means the case. The progress that can be made on the appointment of an agent is determined by other factors as well as by the ability and energy of the full-time officer.

Far too often parties make appointments without having sufficient funds to meet the salary of the agent during the first twelve months of his appointment. The result is that the agent cannot devote himself as he should to the task of building up the party organisation on a solid foundation, as he is compelled to worry about raising his own salary.

Social activity is an important part of a constituency party's life, and the income derived from such a source can be a useful addition to the party's funds. If, however, an agent has to spend most of his time organising social affairs to raise his salary, the party is no better off than before it had a full-time man.

To obtain the best advantage from an appointment, a party should have accumulated sufficient money to free the agent from all worry about his salary, at least for twelve months, as well as to give him the tools with which to do his job properly.

Appointments have been made without the party having an office available
in which the agent can work, and
without office equipment. Even firmly
established parties have been known
to think that all that is necessary for
the accommodation of their agents is
a table set aside in the Labour Hall,
or a room which is used for other
purposes inter alia.

Office Boy Tasks

It is not fair to expect an agent to do good and systematic work unless he has reasonable office equipment. The public will not be impressed by letters from a constituency party if they have been written on an "invisible" typewriter, which should be in a museum and not a Labour Party Office, and it is not possible for an agent to keep proper records if he has not the use of a filing cabinet and a card index for names and addresses.

I should imagine that the number

of constituency parties that employ clerical help for the agent can be counted on the fingers of one hand, yet it is uneconomical to pay an agent's salary if he has to spend hours of his time addressing envelopes and doing other routine tasks which properly should be performed by an office boy.

A wise party, before appointing an agent, will ensure that it has sufficient

money to:-

(a) provide the agent's salary for at least a year;

(b) supply him with a suitable

office;

(c) make available reasonable office equipment, such as a modern typewriter, duplicator, filing cabinet and card index, not to speak of desks and stationery cupboards;

(d) and, if necessary, clerical assistance to take from him many of the routine office jobs which do not require special skill.

When an agent is appointed some parties imagine that they have engaged a maid-of-all-work whose job it is to sweep out the Labour Hall after

weekly dances, to carry his own notices

to the members and to be a whipping boy when anything goes wrong.

Not a Caretaker

If the Labour Hall needs the attention of a caretaker, one should be employed, and the charge made by the Postmaster-General for distributing circulars works out cheaper than the cost of employing a full-time agent on this work, even at the present miserable salary rates.

Nor should the agent be regarded as a private secretary for the Member of Parliament. Inevitably an agent must deal with many cases brought to him by constituents, but too much time can be spent in this way. Primarily the full-time agent is an organiser and other duties which interfere with his organising work should be reduced to

a minimum.

Enjoying financial stability, using a properly equipped office with clerical assistance, concentrating on his real job of organising, a capable agent will be worth very much more to a constituency party than the costs involved in employing him under reasonable conditions.



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Keeping Contact

An M.P. and his Local Party
By Dr. BARNET STROSS, M.P. for Hanley

I do not have any special qualifications for dealing with this topic and can only draw on my own experience during the past two years.

I have the great advantage over many of my Parliamentary colleagues of having my home in my constituency. That may be the chief reason why "contact with the local Party and good relationships with other bodies" (which the Editor asked me to write about) has seemed to me to be almost a matter of course rather than something to be planned.

Yet I have not found it an easy task to fulfil the promise I made to the electors, after the declaration of the poll, that "I shall be your servant." Time, energy and leisure have had to be sacrificed in the attempt to make

good my promise.

How much more difficult it must be for those who can only make occasional visits to their constituencies. They, or someone for them, must think out ways and means of utilising, to advantage, every hour that the member spends in his division.

Some Suggestions

May I, with very great diffidence, offer some suggestions based on experience with my constituents?

(a) The prompt, courteous and honest answering of every letter received from the Division. (I emphasise honest because it is easy to raise false hopes in the minds of those who send almost innumerable requests (about the chance of getting a house, etc.).

(b) The regular interchange of opinions on current affairs between the Member and the Local Party

Secretary.

- (c) The attendance at every possible meeting of the Executive Committee and delegate meeting of the constituency Party with the object of getting to know their minds on local and national affairs and not to impose upon them one's own ideas.
- (d) To contact the Co-operators in their Guilds and Party meetings. Friction does occasionally arise

- between colleagues. A visit from the M.P. may avoid trouble.
- (e) In the same way, to take, or make, opportunities to be present at Trades Union Branch meetings. This is sometimes difficult of achievement. Overcome the difficulty and the reward is certain.
- (f) Associate with every cultural movement in the area. People interested in the spreading, and helping to create, the knowledge of what is good in art, music, drama, literature, of whatever colour their politics, are worthy of support.
- (g) Give support to the Youth Movement. Here again (except in Party organisations) political propaganda should be non-existent. Win the interest of the young folk. It will open the doors to their homes and parents.
- (h) Be friendly with the heads of the Local Authority. All constituents are affected by what is done by their Council. Give every possible help to their deputations when visiting Whitehall.

"Our M.P. has been helpful to us when in London" spreads through the division and pleases political friend and opponent alike.

(i) At least once a year speak to your constituents on their own door-steps. A week of the Autumn recess with a car and amplifying set will, in an industrial division, enable the M.P. to have an informal chat and a "shake-hands" with hundreds of men and women who rarely attend meetings, but whose votes, on polling day, determine defeat or victory.

Again I repeat how difficult it will be for most M.P.s to be able to arry out these suggestions. If, however, they regard themselves as "the servants of their electorate," they will strive to do their utmost to prove that "a good servant is always elected to do indispensable work" and spares neither time, energy nor leisure in order that his task may be accomplished.

Are Women Agents A Success?

By ELSIE LYON BOLTZ, Agent, North Lambeth D.L.P.

Well, what a question to ask me! Shall I be diplomatic, truthful, polite and ladylike, or simply avoid answering the question? I can at least say that I enjoy every minute of my job and wouldn't change it for anything else, and I think it reasonable to say that a job enjoyed is most likely to give satisfaction to both employer and employed.

Therefore, I should say, and here the diplomacy comes in, that all women in Agency at the present time are a great success because they would never choose the job unless they thoroughly enjoyed it and made of it the most absorbing interest in their lives.

I am proud of my job as a Labour Party Agent and find any disadvantages, such as the often long and irregular hours of work, the many diverse and sometimes curious jobs one is called upon to do, and the unexpected encroachments on one's leisure time, more than fully compensated for by the intense satisfaction I get from it.

However, honesty compels me to say that—with, of course, the glowing exceptions to the rule provided by my female companions in Agency and myself—women as a general rule would find the feminine temperament a disability in this job.

Sense of Humour Needed

Of course, it is stupid to generalise, but I think that women are inclined to attach too much importance to what are often unessentials and worry quite unnecessarily about things which men would dismiss with a shrug.

I feel this may be a disadvantage in an Agent's job, where one must learn early to discard unessentials and to discriminate between what really matters and what can be ignored—one's chairman's funny little ways, for instance. Not my chairman, of course—he has no funny little ways at all, also he may read this article!

The woman Agent must quickly develop a protective skin and an ability to swallow dry sobs like taking a pill when Management and Executive Committees prove particularly brutal, heartless and stupid. She should also have an intense sense of humour and learn the value of hearty laughter when she gets the feeling that her limits of endurance have reached breaking-point and harsh words rise to her lips and her hand hovers lovingly over the handy bottle of ink.

I do think the average woman worries too much about the details of her job and a man has this advantage that he would be far less inclined than a woman would be to take his worries home with him and is much more likely to seek mild solace at the "local" and there consign his Party and his worries to where he feels the former, by their inconsiderate behaviour, rightly belong.

Not "Hard-Boiled" Enough

Women are much too conscientious and, in my view, this is a disability for my sex. Again this generalisation may be quite stupid, for how many males are really "old women"? Well, here caution takes a hand and I'll not pursue this point but leave it open for discussion.

Experience has shown that women are capable of doing almost any job that a man can do except for especially heavy work, and in the recent Civil Service examinations, women topped the lists, but I still feel that many of us are too gentle and not sufficiently "hard-boiled" for the many and varied duties which constitute the daily round of the political Agent.

The fact is that in the past, women have never had a fair chance. Given this chance which society is now extending to my sex and I believe that there is no job, politics included, in which women cannot excel.

As we develop towards the Socialist State, sex conflicts tend to imperceptibly vanish and women will be judged good, bad or indifferent as Agents, on the standard of their work in precisely the same way as men.

Have I answered the question which heads this article? What do you think?

Do We Make Membership too Easy?

By S. C. TERRY, Dartford D.L.P.

The writer of this controversial article says we are "cheapening" Labour Party membership by admitting people too easily. He advocates two categories of membership—full and associate. Comments on this article are welcomed.

Let me say at the outset that I am a firm believer in mass membership. I am convinced of the immense psychological effect of a large membership, both nationally, and in a Divisional

and Local Party area.

Each day, however, I am more than ever struck by the negative nature of much of our membership. As in practically every other kind of voluntary organisation, from sports clubs to churches, the majority are members in name only. They do not take their membership seriously. All but a very small minority are ever seen at meetings. Incredible as it may sound, it is a difficult task to persuade many of them to exercise their franchise at election times, and these are the people whom we assume are politically conscious because they are members of a political party.

What then is the solution? In my view we must retain the moral support of these people, together with the financial assistance their 6/- per year provides, while making real membership of the party something to be

worked for.

Two Kinds of Membership

At present what do we do? We have a membership campaign, and a man or woman, often to get rid of the canvasser, signs a very simple form, pays the first instalment of his or her subscription, and is a member. I say that is not sufficient. We make membership too easy, in fact, we plead with people to become members, or in other words, we cheapen it.

I suggest two kinds of membership: associate membership and full membership. Here I must confess that I cannot see many advantages to offer as an inducement to becoming a full member, apart from the admittedly somewhat vague one of the "honour" of that title, with the exception of that

outlined below.

In the first place, associate membership should continue on the lines of the present membership, and we

should continue to go all out to enrol as many associate members as possible.

To attain "full" membership, I suggest an associate member must:

Attend at least 75 per cent. of his Ward meetings during a year. Do at least one job in his Ward, Local Party or Divisional Party. "Jobs" should include street collector, canvasser for membership and similar types of work.

Rights of Full Members

This means that it would take twelve months from the time of first joining the party before a new member could become a full member, and eligible to:

Vote on matters of party organisation at his Ward meetings.

Be eligible for a seat on the Local or Divisional Party General Committee.

Be eligible to be nominated as a candidate for a Local Authority or for Parliament.

The last right of a full member, I believe to be the most important, and I have for long enough maintained that too many people were entering the Labour Party intent on becoming candidates for Local Authorities or Parliament, and with no intention of doing any kind of work for the Party. In fact, many of them were sudden converts to Socialism because they saw, in the Labour Party in the ascendancy, a vehicle to carry them to where they wanted to go.

I have very strong views on this, and, in fact was the mover at my Ward meeting, of the resolution on this subject which was on the Margate conference agenda this year.

These are my suggestions, and I should like to hear whether other members agree with me or can offer any ideas which will help to evolve a scheme which will give promise of building up a really live and positive membership of the party, without sacrificing the advantages, both moral and financial, of the present mass membership.

No. 12. WILFRED YOUNG

Up From Somerset

It is now nearly 30 years since the first post-war General Election of 1918. I have come to the conclusion that it was the most important event in the history of the Labour Party, next to the General Election of 1945, because nearly every present leader of the British Labour Movement seems to have been politically baptised in that campaign in which they acquired that political inoculation which, once it gets into the blood stream, is impossible to eradicate.

I wonder if, in 30 years' time as many of the then VIP's of the Labour Movement will look back on the second post-war election as the real starting-point in their political career. I must remember to get my grandchildren to check up on the point and report to me in my bath-chair when

the time comes.

Wilf Young, of the Eastern Counties, is yet another 1918-er. In fact, he was politically christened much earlier, when, as a schoolboy, he attended miners' meetings in his native Somerset village of Clutton during the 1911 strike and listened with rapt attention and growing conviction to the case for Socialism put so forcibly and eloquently by the earnest propagandists of that day.

Wales to Somerset

They did a good job on young Wilf, for, when the 1918 election came along and he was temporarily resident in South Wales, we find him enthusiastically tackling every job he could lay his hands to in the Bedwellty Division. And afterwards, back in the North Somerset coalfield, he was "eagerly frequenting" every piece of political and industrial activity in the whole area, as chairman, speaker, platform carrier, literature seller and collection taker-upper.

Then, in 1924, I regret to record, he fell from grace and became a candidate! However, like Len Williams (who had a similar lapse), and the writer (who had a very narrow escape), he quickly recovered and was back, after his venture in the Wells Division, among the ranks of organisers. After all, anyone can be a candidate, but a good political organiser is worth his

weight in coal.

So Wilf became Divisional Organiser for the I.L.P. in the South-West and Midlands, had six years in local government, and eventually and inevitably became a Constituency Agent. For five years Kettering Division had the benefit and advantage of his services before he was appointed District Organiser for the Eastern Counties. It is a coincidence that both Eastern Counties Organisers should have Come Up from Somerset. His colleague, Miss Francis, also "hails" (as they say, for some obscure reason) from the same county.

The Great Awakening

Probably no area produced more remarkable and important results in the '45 election than the Eastern Counties. It was here that the "rural awakening" became a really established fact. Seats in Essex, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Herts, Northants, Bedfordshire, and even feudal Suffolk, all hitherto regarded as safe shires for Tory squires, came over in a swarm, and, having worked in a goodly part of that area, I can imagine Wilf's justifiable elation as the figures came out.

My firm belief is that few of these Divisions will fall by the wayside again. Their electors are tough and hard to convince, but once they have made up their minds they will stick. Wilf Young is the man to hold them to their resolution, for he shares all their best qualities.

They will understand and respond to his quiet, but objective and practical approach to their problems. They will respect his sound decisions. They will admire his persistent insistence that the rural areas are the salt of the earth and that the best is none too

good for them.

But the Eastern Counties is by no means wholly rural. There is a substantial metropolitan slice from Silvertown to Chingford. There is suburbia and industry in Hertfordshire. There is fishing at Yarmouth and Lowestoft. There are seaside landladies at Southend, Clacton and Cromer. There is the boot and shoe industry in Norwich and Kettering, motor production in Luton, iron and steel at Corby, light industry in St. Albans, shipping at Tilbury, and engineering in Ipswich.

I can't recall that there are any coal mines in the region, which must appear its only blemish to Wilf, who was a miner for twelve years, but otherwise it is a representative cross-section of industrial, agricultural and residential Britain, teeming with interest and now bustling in active prosperity,

I can imagine that the new Regional Council will have a wider variety of problems than any other except, perhaps, the Scottish Council, but Wilf. with his training and experience in light industry, in heavy industry and in rural areas will be able to see the viewpoints of the Silvertown docker, the Fenland farm worker, the Fletton brickmaker and the Luton engineer with equal understanding.

As they say in Norfolk: "That's a good man, that is!"

Our Victory Hall

By C. V. WOODS, Agent, Hartlepools D.L.P.

Here's a grand success story—in which courage, enterprise and hard work all played their part. A year ago this month Hartlepools D.L.P. opened their Victory Hall, bought at a cost of £5,000. To date it has earned £890 by dances and lettings, and the Party now has raised £1,740 towards its cost.

To commemorate the memorable events of the year 1945—the victory of Democracy over Dictatorship and the victory of the Labour Party at the polls—the Hartlepools D.L.P. took the bold decision to purchase a building which they had previously rented, but which had been requisitioned by the Government during the war.

Our idea was to establish a permanent home for the Party and to provide a Centre of Social Service for the

people of the Hartlepools.

Two problems had to be tackled immediately-money had to be raised and the place cleaned and renovated therefore a Building Committee was elected charged with the task of raising £5,000 required for the purchase of the building and providing funds for its alteration and reconditioning to make it fit to fulfil the important functions visualised for the future.

The committee devised some bold The appeal and inspiring schemes. Collecting went out far and wide. sheets to Trade Unions, books of "bricks" at 1/-, 2/6 and 5/-, little tin money-boxes for the sideboard at Individuals accepted targets, each Alderman and Councillor being called upon to set a shining example by accepting a target of £25. A Holiday Prize Draw was another idea included in the scheme.

Members Get to Work

The building consists of six rooms on the ground floor, together with an entrance hall with a two-way stairway leading to a ballroom covering the entire ground floor space. It is a comparatively new building and was originally built as a ballroom with shops on the ground floor.

The whole place needed cleaning and decorating and, even if we had had the money, there was the question of the necessary licence to have the work done, so a gang of Party members turned themselves into painters and decorators, intent on making the place clean and tidy with the object of opening the ballroom at the earliest possible moment.

The work proceeded, sometimes far into the night, with the novices putting as much colour on their personal attire as they put on the walls, but it is now almost a year since the ball-room was opened to the public, followed by an official opening ceremony performed by the first Labour Member of Parliament for the Hartlepools, Mr. D. T. Jones.

To-day our Victory Ballroom is one of the most popular dance halls in the district. The optimism of those who urged the purchase of the building has been justified. An entertainments sub-committee of the building committee does a grand job in running two weekly dances for the building fund. These dances have not been running for twelve months until 10th August, 1947, but have contributed £650.

Great credit is due to the members of the committee who act as cloakroom attendants, stewards, etc., in a

voluntary capacity, which means trudging home after midnight twice each week. The hall is let on other evenings to organisations for private functions at a fee of £5 5s., which includes our commissionaire at the door to ensure proper conduct.

Grand Total

The rooms on the ground floor are used by our Party for divisional meetings, ward meetings, League of Youth and Women's Section and by Trades Union Branches, Co-op. and other organisations, the income from other than Party organisations during this period is £240.

Building Committee efforts previously described have added a further £850, making a grand total of £1,740 towards the target figure of £5,000 in

twelve months.

Of course a mortgage on the property had to be arranged with the Co-operative Permanent Building Society and a further £600 had been expended in having a central heating system installed.

We are not yet halfway to our goal, but the incentive and spirit is in the Party and we are not interested in talk of failure.

The perils of such a venture must be realised and fully appreciated. In the first place all the energies of the Party must not be directed into this channel at the expense of political activity. Propaganda, membership and political organisation must not be neglected, however urgent and pressing the need for a home might be.

Secondly (and I don't wish to start anything here) there are those amongst us who favour developing the premises on club lines as licensed premises. My personal view is that this is a grave danger to be guarded against, although I daresay cases can be cited where a club and the political organisation is running successfully.

I believe that if these dangers are realised, the position of the Labour Party to-day calls for every Party having adequate headquarters where the cultural and social life of the community can be developed to the full. It is the aim of the Hartlepools Divisional Labour Party to supply this need.

Lotteries and the Law

By JOHN PINKERTON

Many of our parties will, in preparation for the Municipal Elections, be considering the question of raising funds and many will no doubt be turning to the running of draws and sweepstakes to achieve this end.

Although this seems to be one of the obvious ways in which to raise funds for every party purpose, many parties are not happy in that they are never sure whether they are breaking the law in promoting such things. Sweepstakes, draws and lotteries are defined in law as "schemes for distributing prizes by a lot or chance in which the participants risk the loss of something."

It appears that where the chance of a prize is obtained wholly gratuitously and none of the participants risk anything the scheme would not be a lottery. Therefore, to be a lottery the distribution must wholly depend upon chance.

By the Betting and Lotteries Act of 1934 all lotteries and sweepstakes are unlawful and various offences are committed under the provision of Section 22 of the Act by persons printing or selling such tickets, advertising the lottery, using premises for the purpose of the lottery, distributing through the post, etc. There are, however, certain exemptions under the Act and those are: (1) a small lottery incidental to certain entertainments such as the lottery commonly termed "raffle" of a doll or cake at a bazaar or whist drive; and (2) private lotteries; these are the ones with which we should concern ourselves as they are the most likely to bring our parties into conflict with the law.

It may be quite true to say that the police turn a blind eye to many irregularities not strictly within the law, but they cannot fail to take action when they are informed by a person or

persons that an illegality is being committed, and this almost always is the case when the police intervene with a party's running of a sweepstake on a race or a football pool. Quite a number of our parties are of the mistaken opinion that a sweepstake can be promoted and run by a Divisional Labour Party. This is not correct: Section 24 of the Act renders lawful a private lottery promoted for and confined to the members of one society established and conducted for purposes not connected with gaming, wagering or lotteries.

The Section, however, goes on to say, and this is the most important part of the Section and should be noted by all Divisional Labour Party Management Committees, that the expression "Society" includes a group, institution, organisation or other association of persons by whatever name called and each local or affiliated branch or section of that society shall be regarded as a separate and distinct society.

What Can Be Done

This means, therefore, that for a lottery promoted by a Divisional Labour Party the sale of tickets should be confined to the members of the General Management Committee for the lottery to be legal, and the same would apply to a Local Labour Party or Ward Section or Women's Section since they are a branch of the major body but are regarded for the purposes of the Act as separate and distinct societies. The argument that a Divisional Labour Party is the organisation to which all members in the Division belong would not hold good in a court of law.

The problem now facing us is how shall we overcome the difficulty of running sweepstakes and how can we avoid falling foul of the law? This is not an easy question to answer since only a Court Judgment can finally determine whether a lottery is legal, we can, however, suggest a course which we believe will minimise the risks to a greater degree than are being taken by our Parties at the present time.

The idea is to form a special society of supporters, say, for a Building Fund or Fighting Fund and name the society the Trades Hall, or Fighting Fund Supporters' Society and run a monthly or quarterly draw under the auspices of this Society. Every ticket must bear on its face the name and address of each of the promoters (in this case it should be the Secretary of the Society) and a statement to the effect that the sale of the tickets is restricted to the members of the Society, also a statement that no prize will be paid to any person other than the person to whom the ticket was sold and no prize is to be paid except in accordance with such state-The person promoting the lottery must be authorised in writing by the Executive Committee of the Supporters' Society.

Register is Essential

Members of the Divisional Labour Party could all be registered as members of the Supporters' Society by keeping a register of their names and in this way tickets could be broadcast to all members. If a register was kept of the names of all the persons buying tickets there is a likelihood of your getting away with it. It must be remembered that although you run the draw in this way you must still observe the law that the lottery must not be advertised except (a) by a notice on the premises and (b) by the announcement on the ticket and tickets shall not be sent through the post.

In summing up it does appear that the founding of such a Society as mentioned would be hardly worth while for an isolated effort, but if a Party intends to run a series of draws and lotteries, then the establishment of the Society is the best course to adopt. Apart altogether from the legal aspect such a Society and its register of members could be of immense value to the literature secretary, membership secretary, election agent and indeed every officer concerned with the organisation of the Party.

4

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SOME DON'TS FOR CANVASSERS

How NOT to Make Members

By Councillor M. L. BURNET, of Hampstead Labour Party

WHY so many canvassers fail to enrol members is a puzzling problem. Members can be obtained for the Labour Party in any road in Britain of a suitable social character.

Results vary from night to night, of course, but a conservative estimate would be an average harvest of four members per night per canvasser on ground that had not been recently worked for membership. To get this result, all that has to be done is to keep the body in an erect position for a matter of one-and-a-half to two hours and perambulate it from door to door asking the inmates to join the Party.

Why is it then that if you get a group of canvassers together the average result is nothing like four members per session? Here are the figures of a recent evening's canvass in a London ward, figures that could be paralleled no doubt almost in any local party in the country: 21 canvassers, 29 members made, of which total 16 were made by five persons, leaving a bag of 13 for the remaining 16 canvassers.

Men Have Advantage

There are some general points that can be made on success in canvassing. First, the male canvasser has an advantage over the female owing to the limited extent of the emancipation of women. It is easier to enrol men into the Party and it is easier for a man to enrol men than it is for a woman.

Some women get excellent results despite the handicap, though. Physical build is a factor, the well-built having an advantage over the short, and class plays a part, the middle-class persons having a pull over the artisan except where there is a strong feeling of class solidarity, and there are few such areas in Britain to-day.

Organisational considerations have an important bearing on the canvass results. Whether the clerk in charge of the committee rooms knows what he is doing and has prepared the work ready for immediate distribution on arrival of the canvassers (he usually hasn't), whether there is a car to carry persons to far off canvassing points instead of this being used to carry loudspeaker equipment which will annoy the local inhabitants, whether people are sent out to canvass buildings that disappeared in the blitz, these and other points will affect the general return, but they will apply as factors equally to the successful and unsuccessful canvasser alike.

In some cases the unsuccessful canvasser does not make the calls owing to nervousness, but this factor only applies to a percentage of unsuccessful canvassers. The factors causing the failure of the balance might well be the subject of research work undertaken at national level. Here are some suggested causes.

Over-Talking

It is probable that the most frequent cause of failure is over-talking, the canvasser talking himself out of getting members and one is reminded of Byron's couplet on Southey in this connection:

Oh! Southey, Southey! cease thy varied song!

A bard may chant too often and too long.

Some canvassers are so boring that their victims decide not to become members to assure themselves of obviating encounters of a similar character within the party. With the inexperienced canvasser, however, it is sometimes the case that it is the canvassed person that does all the talking and boring. This is a mistake, the canvasser should always retain the initiative throughout the interview, guiding the conversation into the correct channels, and if he loses this initiative he should take prompt steps to regain it.

Another mistake is to make the undertaking of becoming a member of the Party appear to be so serious and solemn by a long recital of the constitution of the Party and the obligations of the individual member that the prospect feels that the undertaking is something like an equivalent of taking a monastic vow. A canvas-

ser, too, will sometimes spend 15 minutes on the doorstep giving the history of the Party and then not make a member when he could have referred the prospective member to one of the standard works on the subject. If a person does not know what the Labour Party is, if he thinks it is a section of the Ministry of Labour or something of that sort, that person is not suitable material for the canvasser to work upon.

There are two common reasons for the long, time-wasting interview. the one case the canvasser is frightened to ask directly the prospect to join the Party, so he wraps up the fact that he has called for this purpose by leading off with a long description of what the local, or the national, party is doing for the worker, or pretends that he has called to hear the views of the voter on this subject, and so on. and he is so successful in his purpose that the prospect does not realise that the purpose of the visit was to get him to join the Party and when he is casually asked at the end of the interview whether he would care to join the Party he casually replies that he would not. The second common reason for the long interview is the canvasser's fear of making calls, so that when he does get some one who will talk, on no matter what, he feels that the time spent will reduce the number of subsequent calls.

Be Simple

The mark of the good canvasser is the extreme simplicity of his method. Though invariably courteous to friend and foe alike, he wastes no time on the doorstep. He announces straight away the purpose of his visit (if a circular letter has preceded the visit this may be guessed before he speaks), and by a few simple questions he finds out whether the prospect has any Labour or T.U. background, any marked interest in politics, or any interest in organising social functions, If he finds any real interest in the Party, in a few brief words he will indicate the rôle of the local party and that of the individual within it. The whole interview even where a member is

made may take as little as three minutes.

If there is a complaint about a leaking roof, the good canvasser will make a note to have the sanitary inspector call, while the inefficient canvasser will assume the rôle of building surveyor, clambering about attics and delivering himself of a sermon on the evils attendant upon the private ownership of property. The good canvasser, asked for his opinion on Ernest Bevin, Shinwell, or what-not, will refer the questioner to the ward or party discussion group.

The key to the success of the canvasser lies in his never forgetting the purpose of his visit. He is not out to sell literature, he is not out to convert the unconverted, he is not out to shoot his mouth off at people because neither his ward nor his wife will listen to him at length. All he wants to do is to bring back some signed cards, signatures relating to persons of whom there is reasonable hope of making useful party members.

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READERS' FORUM

How to Write a Letter

SR,-We do not make nearly enough use of the correspondence columns of

the Press-especially locally.

It is often our own fault. We are too heavy, too dry, or too loquacious. The Editor does not publish our stuff, and we blame political prejudice, when ordinary human self-protection has made him throw it into the waste

paper basket.

To catch an editor's eye your letter must be (a) brief, (b) bright, (c) brotherly. A 500- or 600-word tirade scathingly exposing the vapid fatuities of a local Tory speaker will cut no ice. 150 snappy words pricking the old man's bubble will be printed—perhaps with a spice of malicious glee—for editors do not love bores any more than you do.

Editors are human. Offer them interesting, even if provocative, copy, and they will print it if they can.

H. WRATTEN,

Putney D.L.P.

Through Canadian Eyes

SIR,—Since I have taken out a combined subscription to your Party I have been receiving the *Labour Organiser* for about three months and I find it very revealing. What caught my eye, though, was the beginning of a series entitled "Getting the 'Subs' In."

When you compare the area of my province of Manitoba to the British Isles I believe you will find that you can put the British Isles "twice" into Manitoba, throw in the Province of Prince Edward Island and "still" have

1,000 square miles to boot!

With this tremendous area of ours we have only 17 Federal M.P.s, of which ten are Liberals, five C.C.F., and two "Progressive Conservatives(?)" Also, only five of the 17 seats are "urban" and all within Greater Winni-

peg.

We hold only two of these (one of which formerly belonged to J. S. Woodsworth) and the other three Liberal. Thus you will understand our problem of organising which is comparable to yours in the Highlands (April Labour Organiser).

In reading over the "Sub" articles, I believe we could follow your system of organising in our urban centres. Would you be kind enough to send me in as much detail as possible your programme of organising; e.g., what do you mean by full-time agent, D.L.P., Wards, etc.? For this information I would be very grateful.

A. R. DENTON,

39, Dundurn Place, Winnipeg.

[We have sent Mr. Denton—an official of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, Canada's Labour Party—the information he has asked for. We send him also our heartiest good wishes for the C.C.F.'s success in the big job of organising and winning Canada for Labour.—Ed.]

NEW APPOINTMENTS

Five new agency appointments have been made.

Mr. L. G. Sims, agent and secretary, Windsor, has been appointed to a similar post at Brighton. He is 36 and has been a Party member for 18 years. He was liaison and meetings officer to Jim Raisin in the Bromley byelection in 1945, and has been a contributor to the "Labour Organiser."

Mr. R. G. Hayward, aged 29, is to be agent at Banbury. He is a cabinetmaker by trade and has been active in Party and election work at Blox-

ham.

Mr. A. G. A. Jenner, a railway clerk, and a member of the Party for 11 years, is to be agent at Winchester. He is 42 and has contested local elections.

Mr. J. W. Wainwright, an assurance representative and part-time agent at Spen Valley, takes over the Elland (Yorkshire) agency. He is 43 and had full control of the 1945 General Election campaign at Spen Valley.

Mr. Hubert Morgan, aged 28, a railway signalman, is to be agent at Flintshire. He was a sub-agent at the

General Election.

Mr. Albert Downey, aged 38, who has been active in Don Valley D.L.P., and in the N.U.R., has been appointed agent at West Derbyshire.

Running a City Party

By JIM CATTERMOLE, Secretary, Birmingham B.L.P.

Like other sections of the Movement, a Borough, or City Party, as it is called in some parts of the country, has its problems, and Birmingham is no exception. The Borough Parties are mainly concerned with local government, so it is to be expected that many of the problems lie in that field. Birmingham Labour Group has made rapid gains in the last two years from 22 to 76, out of a full council of 136, and obviously the coming of power so speedily brings difficulties in its train.

On the whole, the Labour Group is doing a very fine job of work, for example, in house-building it Beads the country, but, like the Government, there is a limit to the programme it can accomplish in twelve months, and from time to time we have had to ask certain sections of the Party to put first things first.

The quality of our candidates has been of great concern to the Borough Party and we have had a very difficult problem in compiling our Municipal Panel, to conform to the National Constitution and at the same time to eliminate people we think unsuitable or who have insufficient experience.

Classes for Candidates

Obviously, nominating organisations always attempt to draw comparisons between candidates who have and those who have not been endorsed, and lack of any attempt to use a yardstick in the past is an embarrassment to the Party to-day. For instance, this year three people who have been on the Panel for a number of years were refused endorsement, and it takes a lot of explaining away.

Fortunately, the Party as a whole has accepted the recommendations of a small sub-committee which has the unenviable task of interviewing the candidates. Incidentally, we organise a series of classes for our candidates and it is one of the conditions of endorsement that attendance at them is compulsory. Candidates have been warned that failure to do so will prejudice their chances of being endorsed on future occasions.

Covering, as we do, 34 wards in 13 Parliamentary divisions, organisation presents many problems.

In the main I think the Party is very parochial in outlook; people who are very active in some wards will not raise a finger for their division, and the same applies to the Borough Party. Firstly, many divisions and wards do not play their full part in the organisation, nor do they look to the Borough Party for assistance when they should. Let me give an example.

The Borough Party recently decided to form a "Commando Squad," whose task it would be to assist the weaker areas in the city during the "Tell Britain" campaign. Each ward was asked to send in the names of not more than two members to form this squad, which would have meant a team of 68 keen workers who could have gone down into an area, say for a week, and made a thorough canvass for new members.

Officers Should Have Powers

The benefits of this would, in my opinion, have been immeasurable to the Party, but in spite of the fact that the idea came from a meeting of divisional officers called specially to discuss the campaign, to date only 33½ per cent. of the wards have replied, and amongst the defaulters are some of the strongest wards in the city who could have spared the workers easily.

Backward wards, on the other hand, seeing the possibilities of the scheme, have found the necessary volunteers.

However, probably the thing which makes the job of organising a Borough Party most difficult is the fact that when a conference of party officers is called to discuss a problem, very few of them are in a position to commit their organisations without consulting them first, which may take anything up to a month. Confidence in one's officers should be the maxim of all Labour Parties; if you have no confidence in a person do not elect him to office, but once having elected him or her, give them a chance to get on with the job and do not expect to be consulted on every occasion.

PARTY CONVERSATION

Say It With Music

By COLIN MACPHEE

RECENTLY in Czechoslovakia I was struck by the effective use of music, bunting and pageantry at political meetings. All the parties from Left to Right strive with a good deal of success to make their meetings colourful and dramatic—an appeal to to eye and the ear as well as the head.

I watched the National Socialists, a Centre Party, turn on a monster demonstration in Prague to celebrate their fiftieth anniversary. Pretty girls in national costumes, masses of gay striking posters, banners and flowers, stirring tunes and community singing, vivid tableaux depicting the Party's history—all were used with telling effect to supplement the speechifying.

County Choirs?

No doubt, all this can be overdone, and besides, our weather isn't all that good. But surely we can do more to add cheer to our political occasions in Britain. Why not regional, county or city choirs, for instance? It might be difficult for a single party to raise sufficient enthusiasts to run a choir, but probably this could be done on a county or city basis. The Glasgow Socialist Choir has shown what can be achieved. More use might also be made of "canned" music at meetings.

Then why should we not have occasional pageants or exhibitions, telling the story of the people's movements, from the Chartists onwards, in a particular region? There's a wealth of material about our Labour and Radical pioneers of the past in all our regions. Processions . . . our women's sections up north have already shown how to organise large-scale ones with the minimum of fuss and flurry.

Have you any other ideas on how to add cheer, music and a touch of colour to our political events? Let's hear from you, colleagues, on this not unimportant subject.

BY organising a "Help Your Neighbour" service and an attractive programme of social and sports events, Chigwell (Essex) Labour Party have

"gatecrashed" their way into the hearts of a local pre-fab. community.

It is a fine example of how a local party can win goodwill for itself and attract a big flow of recruits among a group of people faced with various "settling down" problems. The women's social section of the Chigwell party must take a large share of the credit for the results achieved.

Keen to make friends, they visited each pre-fab, as family after family moved in, giving advice on the whereabouts of the local clinic, food office, etc. Later they organised weekly meetings, a lending library, the selling of garden plants, the exchange of kiddies' clothes, and many other activities. As a result, the pre-fab folk felt thoroughly at home right from the start.

Up and down the country many families living in pre-fabs would be glad of a similar helping hand. Here's a chance for enterprising parties to win support and new members by following Chigwell's lead.

Membership Incentives

LOCAL parties are adopting various forms of recruiting "incentives" to aid their membership drives. West Salford D.L.P., for instance, issue a graph to all the ward parties showing how the campaign is going on in the various wards. The target figure is raised periodically, so that there is no slacking-off. H. Durnford, West Salford's secretary, tells me that this method has proved valuable in inculcating team spirit and an atmosphere of friendly rivalry.

Some other parties award prizes to the members who "sign on" the biggest number of new recuits. George Attewell, secretary of Northampton L.P., tells me that his party is offering two prizes of return tickets to London with hospitality at the House of Commons by Northampton's Labour M.P., R. T. Paget. Here's another idea which could be adopted on a wider scale throughout the country.

1945's Election Addresses

Some interesting facts and comments about the Election Addresses issued in the 1945 General Election are contained in the important new book "The British General Election of 1945: Oxford University Press." About 69 per cent. of the Labour and 77 per cent. of the Conservative addresses were examined. Here are some extracts:

In their form and appearance the addresses do great credit to the printing trade of the country at a time when conditions were very difficult, with shortage of labour and paper and hard-worn machinery. Some of the most attractive came from quiet country districts. In Scotland some of the addresses were in a definitely old-fashioned type and form.

Photographs of the candidates appear nowadays to be an almost universal necessity, and only five candidates, that is ½ per cent., did not venture or deign to expose their features. About half of the Conservative addresses had a photograph of Mr. Churchill with a letter of support from him printed below. About 10 per cent. had photographs of wives and children and in one case a husband of a woman candidate.

The Average Length

The average election address is about 1,000 words: the majority are less than this, but a number of longer addresses going up to 2,000-3,000 words bring up the average. No candidate, except Mr. Churchill and Sir John Anderson, uses less than 500 words, so that figure can be taken as a minimum with which a candidate may dare to confront the electors.

In the form and manner of the addresses there is little difference between the parties, large or small, and even the Independents are perfectly conventional in this matter. The great majority, 85 per cent., are printed letters. The remaining 15 per cent, are not so much letters as manifestors or bald statements of policy rather than an argued or personal appeal. These are, for some reason, twice a common among Conservative candidates as among Labour candidates.

With the Labour Party a more usual form is an address containing both a letter and a manifesto, and many put a diminutive manifesto headed "What I Stand For," or "A Ten Point Policy," or some similar phrase in the centre of the double inner page. This stands out surrounded by the longer letter of the candidate, and strikes the eye effectively. The Labour addresses are nearly all in black type and about half the Conservative are blue.

Similar Addresses

About 10 per cent, of the candidates sent extra letters addressed to the Service voters. Another form of extra letter is one from the candidate's wife. The wife's letter is usually underneath her photograph, and a study of these photographs leads to the surmise that it is the candidates with more attractive wives who employ this device. Of the Labour candidates, 7 per cent. have wives' letters and 15 per cent. of the Conservatives.

Sometimes candidates are found using very similar addresses. In old constitutencies which had grown too large and were divided by the redistribution Act, passed before the election, both candidates belonging to the same party recited their views on policy in almost identical language. (Conservatives at Blackpool and Ilford, and Labour at Woolwich.) In Scotland, eight Labour addresses had identical inside pages, five of these being Glasgow candidates. There were twenty-three Labour candidates who have obviously used the same common source for their appeal; there are identical paragraphs and the lay-out of the addresses is similar. But only 5 per cent. of the total of Labour addresses examined by us reveal this similarity and the average Labour address is a fairly individual, sometimes a remarkably individual, product.

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